

**MOZAMBIQUE  
REVOLUTION**

**JUNE 25**

**1975**

**INDEPENDENCE**

**THE  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF MOZAMBIQUE**





## **MOZAMBIQUE**

### **REVOLUTION**

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT  
FRELIMO

INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

N.º 61

DEPARTMENT OF INFORMATION - FRELIMO

LOURENÇO MARQUES

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

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## Independence: a new phase of struggle

With the Proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique on June 25, 1975, the revolutionary process in our country entered a new phase, the phase of People's Democracy, during which the lessons of the liberated zones during ten years of armed struggle will be applied at the level of the nation. We are now engaged in the task of destroying all vestiges of the colonial-capitalist State, an instrument of exploitation and oppression, and establishing a People's State which serves the interests of the working masses.

This phase will be a period of intense struggle. National independence was a precondition for the destruction of the system of capitalist exploitation in our country; but independence by itself does not destroy exploitation, and after June 25 millions of Mozambicans living outside the zone liberated during the armed struggle continued to be oppressed by the old system. The enemy, his guns silenced, continued to use every means at his disposal to obstruct the revolutionary process.

But it was in order to destroy exploitation and establish People's Democratic Power throughout Mozambique that FRELIMO fought Portuguese colonialism. To allow a handful of old and new exploiters to thwart this goal would be to betray all those who suffered and died in the war, indeed to betray every worker and every peasant in Mozambique. It would be to turn our victory into a defeat. The new situation, therefore, demanded that we implement the policies of FRELIMO and transform our revolutionary objectives into reality with the minimum of delay. To this end certain measures have already been taken by the Council of Ministers at its first session held between July 9 and 25.

All land has been returned to its rightful owners, the People, and is controlled by the State. Collecting rent for land is forbidden by law.

The colonial educational system is being dismantled. Under this system the type of education a child received depended on the colour of his skin and the wealth of his parents. There were private schools run by exploiters to create new exploiters. There were missionary schools to produce docile, mystified Mozambicans who would serve the exploiting class without complaining. Now all schools have become the property of the State and education is based on the principle that books and study are tools to be used for the creation of a new society, the development of our country and the assertion of our personality.

All hospitals, clinics and consulting rooms now belong to the People. The colonial-capitalist health system served to enrich private doctors while the majority of the population were denied a basic medical service because they were too poor to pay. Now, private medical practice has been abolished and the State is building a medical service which will cater for all, regardless of wealth.

Private lawyers, whose services were available only to the rich, have been banned from practising and the whole judicial system is being changed to conform with our revolutionary objectives.



Funerals were used by the colonial bourgeoisie to divide, exploit and humiliate the People, by creating different classes of burial and forcing even the poorest bereaved families to pay crippling sums. This form of exploitation has also been stopped. The Government has taken over all funeral parlours and a uniform price has been fixed.

These initial shots in the battle against injustice and inequality have removed land and the basic services from the area of exploitation, placing them firmly in the hands of the People. This has guaranteed immediate benefits for the People and created the conditions for national development according to FRELIMO's revolutionary line but it has also sharpened the contradictions between the labouring classes and the enemies of progress and social justice. Heightened vigilance is therefore necessary at this time to combat any attempts by the enemy to sabotage national and ideological unity and deflect the course of the Revolution. And in this respect, the People themselves, organised throughout the country in «Grupos Dinamizadores», play the crucial role. These groups, through which the People are gaining political experience and democratic control over their day to day lives in towns, villages and places of work, are soon to be supplemented at national level by organisations of workers, peasants and youth, as a result of decisions taken by the meeting of the Central Committee between June 19 and 21 this year.

The People's democratic organisations are vital institutions in the struggle to cement unity, increase production and ensure vigilance. Equally vital are the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, who are a force not only for national defence but also for production and political mobilisation. The FPLM, without whose heroism and sacrifices our country would still be under colonial domination, bring to the new struggle an incomparable richness of combat experience.

The measures taken so far are only a beginning. Ahead lie gigantic tasks in increasing production, ensuring social and economic justice and establishing democratic methods of work in the fields of agriculture, industry and commerce. And what makes these tasks particularly tough is the catastrophic situation bequeathed to our country by colonialism, a situation characterised by poverty, illiteracy and unemployment for the many and wealth and privileges for the few. We found the bank vaults empty, the country bled white.

But despite this situation we have no doubt of our victory. During ten years of armed struggle FRELIMO faced an implacable enemy backed by the armaments, money and propaganda of imperialism, but our motto never changed: Victory is certain!

Today we recognise the tremendous difficulties that will be encountered in fulfilling the obligations enshrined in the Constitution of our People's Republic, in destroying the basis of poverty and eliminating underdevelopment.

But FRELIMO pledges today that there will be no retreats or compromises, no let up in the battle against exploitation, no rest until our goals are reached. We shall not fail to live up to the expectations of our People, nor the fears of our enemies.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!**

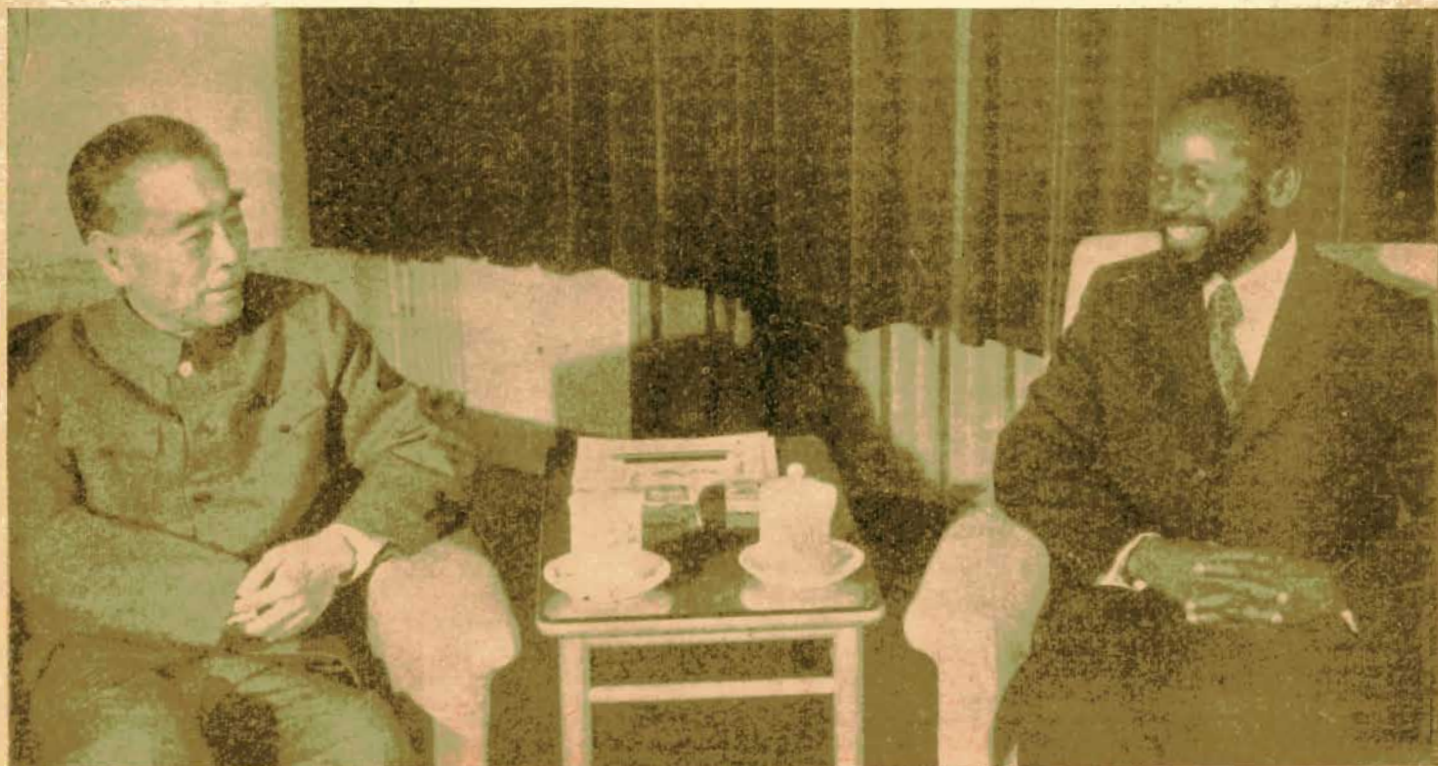


# STRONGER LINKS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES



During the period of Transitional Government in Mozambique, FRELIMO delegations led by our President, Comrade Samora Machel, made important visits to five of the socialist countries, whose vanguard parties, governments and peoples displayed exemplary internationalist solidarity with the Mozambican People during the long years of armed struggle. In December last year one of these delegations visited the German Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republics of Bulgaria and Romania; in February and March this year President Samora led another to the People's Republic of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. These visits, which included discussions with Party and Government leaders in each of the countries, resulted in the strengthening of existing links of political solidarity and important new agreements on future economic co-operation.

- \* Left: President Samora Machel presents a Mozambican carving to Kim Il Sung, Head of State of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.
- \* Below: The President of FRELIMO in Peking with Prime Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China.







The FRELIMO delegation in Sofia with First Secretary Todor Zhivkov of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

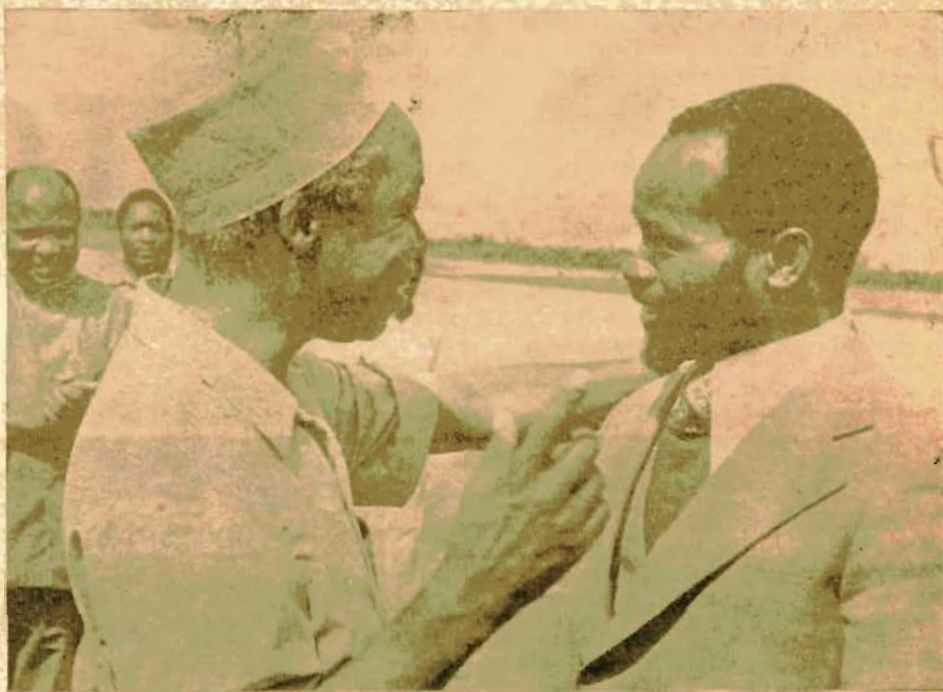


Above left: President Samora with Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary-General of the Romanian Communist Party and President of the State Council. Right: the President with Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR.

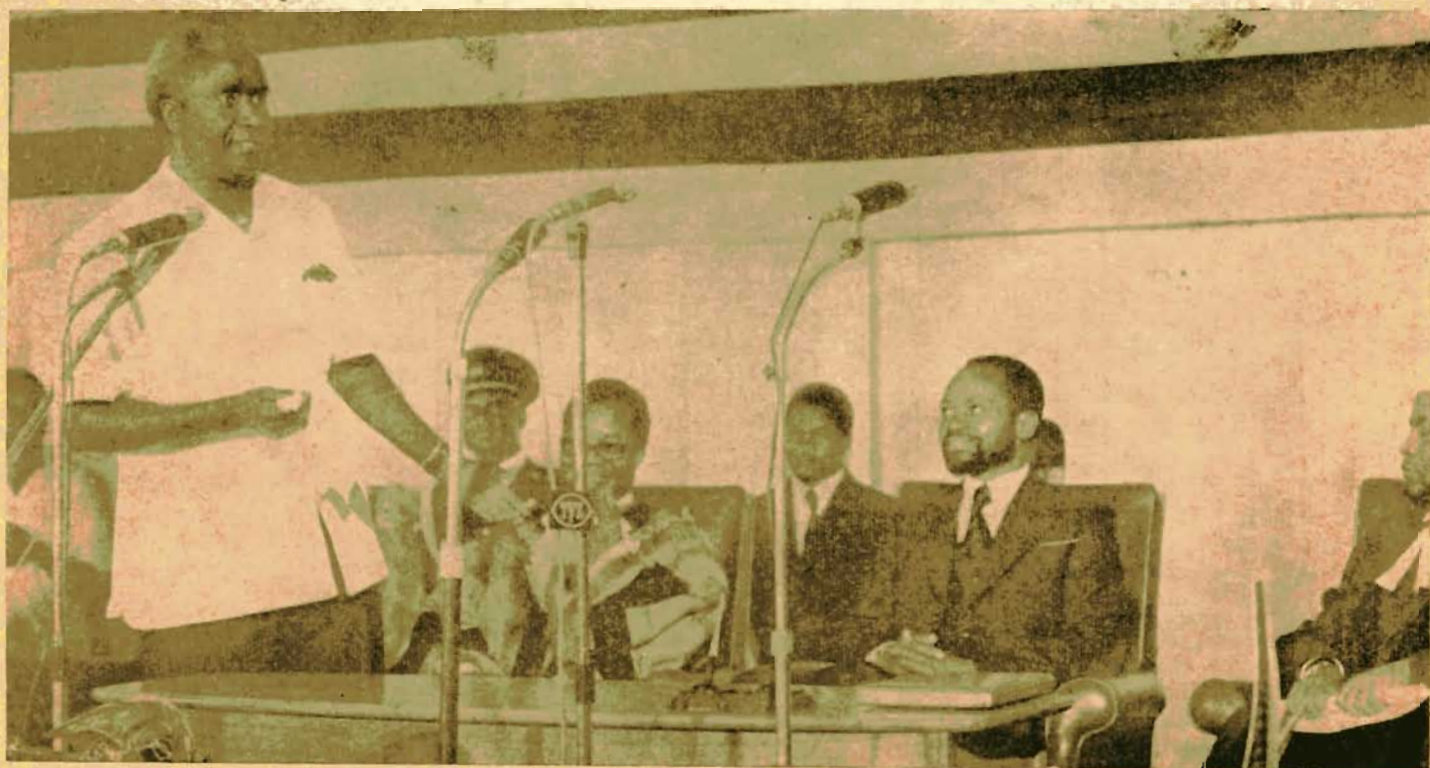


# Our victory is a victory for Africa

In May this year a Mozambican delegation led by the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, toured Tanzania and Zambia, two countries whose Peoples were constant companions in our struggle against Portuguese colonialism. During these tours the delegation took part in a number of public meetings marked by the same spirit of militant solidarity which characterised our relations during the armed struggle. Addressing the meetings President Samora acknowledged that the Peoples of these two countries, in performing their revolutionary duty and giving total support to our struggle, had placed themselves in the front line as targets for the enemy's bombs and bullets, suffering death, injury and privation. But by joining hands with the Mozambican People and participating in the liberation of Mozambique they had extended the base for the African Revolution. "All small pockets of colonialism which have resisted up to now will be destroyed," said President Samora. "We want to say thank you not only in the name of Mozambique — but also in the name of Africa."



Right: President Samora in Tanzania with President Nyerere. Below: at a rally in Zambia with President Kaunda.





In the last few weeks of the life of the Transitional Government the President of FRELIMO, accompanied by the Vice-President and other militants, made a tour of each of Mozambique's ten provinces, beginning in Cabo Delgado in the north on May 24 and ending on June 23 in the capital, Lourenço Marques, in the southernmost province of Maputo.

For the Mozambican Revolution the Presidential tour had valuable consequences, securing significant advances on two key fronts. Firstly, it served to emphasize that no region, no ethnic, tribal or religious group, occupies a special or privileged place in our country. Thus the tour reinforced and consolidated national unity from the Rovuma to the Maputo, the essential weapon in the struggle to liberate Mozambique. Secondly, the principles and orientation of FRELIMO were conveyed to the whole population in a more direct way than ever before, through the man who led the armed struggle to victory and who, as President, symbolises these principles and that orientation. A collection of the speeches made by President Samora during this tour at meetings with the People throughout the country is already being prepared and will be published soon.

# FROM THE ROVUMA TO THE MAPUTO



President Samora addressing a mass meeting in Namputa





President Samora with Vice-Presidente Marcelino dos Santos at a meeting in Chimoio.



In Cabo Delgado, the President meets two veterans of the armed struggle.





Public meeting in Catendica, in the zone liberated during the armed struggle



The President inspects a guard-of-honour on his arrival in Lourenço Marques on June 23



# THE NATION CELEBRATES INDEPENDENCE

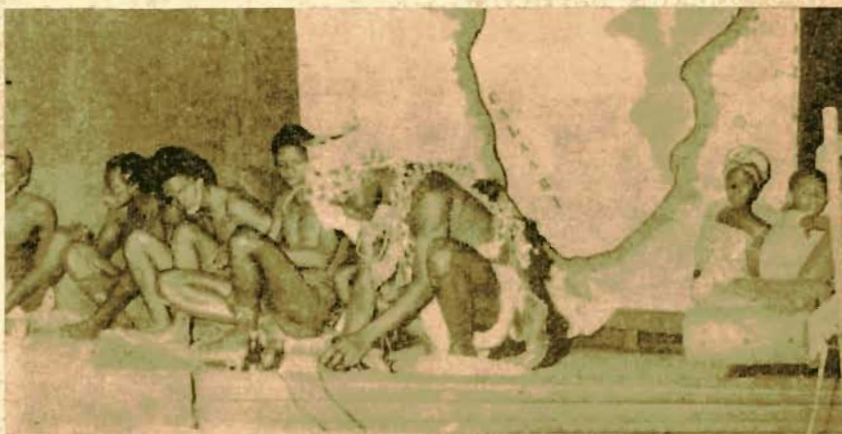
From June 21 until June 29 the total independence of Mozambique, product of ten years of armed struggle against Portuguese colonialism, was celebrated in every town, village and house from the Rovuma to the Maputo. Everywhere homes and streets were decorated with banners and posters, watchwords of FRELIMO and slogans hailing independence. With the active participation of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, the People expressed their joy in all types of festivity — notably performances of revolutionary drama and song and traditional music and dancing — and a variety of sporting events was held, including many tournaments with teams from friendly countries.

In Lourenço Marques, hundreds of guests from countries and organisations which supported FRELIMO during the armed struggle joined the residents of the capital and the surrounding areas in the main events of the nationwide celebrations. For the occasion, streets, shops, houses, schools and other public buildings were adorned with a profusion of FRELIMO flags, revolutionary slogans and banners bearing the national emblem.

Revolutionary spectacles were performed in the city's cinemas and in the suburbs, culminating in a Festival of Youth presented by the "continuadores" — the youngsters who will continue the Revolution.

On June 23 the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Machel, and the Vice-President, Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, arrived in Lourenço Marques after a tour of the country which took in every province. About half a million people lined the route from the airport to the Presidential residence to witness the occasion. Joyful festivities continued in the city suburbs for hours afterwards.

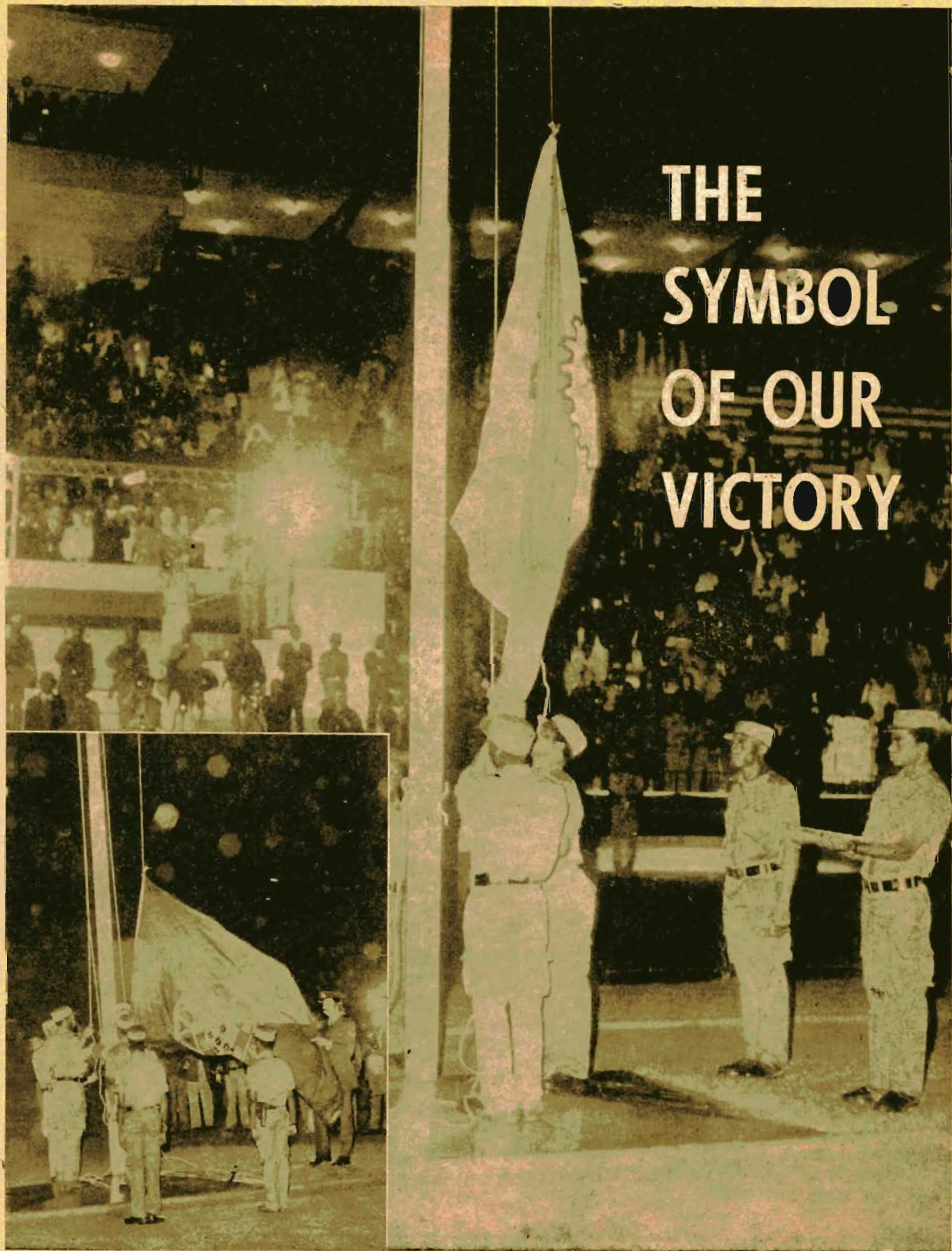
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Top: Independence Day parade in Beira.  
Centre: Historical drama in Quelimane.  
Bottom: Traditional dancing in Chimoio.



# THE SYMBOL OF OUR VICTORY



At Machava Stadium, Lourenço Marques, the Portuguese flag (inset) is lowered and (above) the flag of the People's Republic of Mozambique is raised for the first time.



On the night of June 24 Mozambicans all over the country gathered to bear witness to the ceremonial termination of Portuguese colonial rule, and to usher in the new era beginning at midnight. At that moment, the Portuguese flag was lowered on every flagpole and the new flag of the People's Republic of Mozambique was raised in its place. In Lourenço Marques this ceremony was held at Machava Stadium, on the outskirts of the city, where thousands of Mozambicans and dozens of foreign delegations watched representatives of the three wings of the Portuguese armed forces lower their national flag for the last time in our country, after which the flag of Mozambique was raised by a veteran FRELIMO combatant. There was a 31-gun salute and a battalion of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces and a company of the Mozambique Police Corps presented arms as the National Anthem was played. On the platform-of-honour the President and the Vice-President of FRELIMO saluted the flag.

Then, in the name of the Mozambican People, President Samora read the Proclamation of Independence,

announcing the birth of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

On the morning of June 25, the 13th anniversary of the founding of FRELIMO, the Vice-President announced at a ceremony in the Lourenço Marques Town Hall that the Central Committee of FRELIMO had decided to entrust Comrade Samora Machel with the task of President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. After his investiture President Samora delivered a message to the Nation, broadcast throughout the country by radio.

In the afternoon, about 15,000 Mozambicans — men, women and children, workers, peasants, students and militants of the FPLM — took part in a grand parade before the President, foreign guests and hundreds of thousands of local people. In the parade — which was led by the "continuadores" — were about 200 vehicles decorated to depict various aspects of the exploitation and oppression of our People under Portuguese colonialism. The finale was a march-past by elements of the FPLM, including regular forces, artillery and guerrilla units, a section

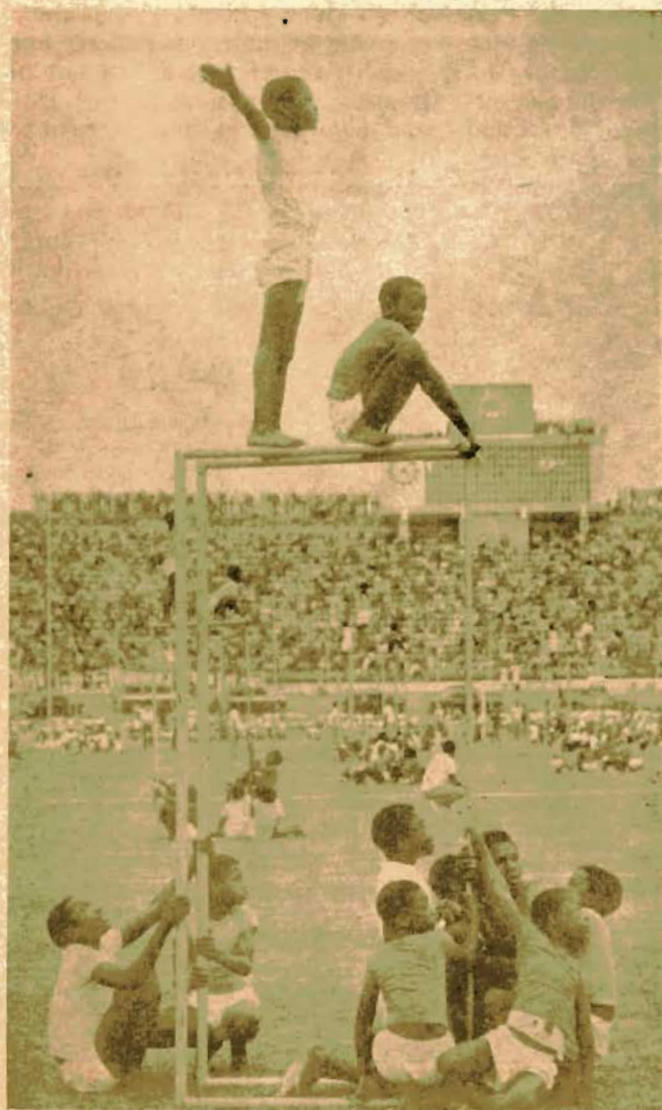
of the Women's Detachment and members of the naval wing. Before the parade began the FPLM were presented by the President with their flag — a red banner bearing the national emblem in gold.

The day's official celebrations ended in the evening with a State Banquet given by the President of the Republic in the name of the Mozambican People, for the delegations from foreign governments and organizations who had been invited to participate in the Independence festivities. Among those present were the Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, President Siad Barre of Somalia; the Prime Minister of Tanzania and Vice-President of TANU, Rashid Kawawa; the Secretary-General of the Zambian United National Independence Party, Grey Zulu; and the Prime Minister of Portugal, Vasco Gonçalves. In his speech at the banquet President Samora expressed the Mozambican People's great joy in receiving the representatives of so many forces which were at our side in the most difficult hours, and his regret that it had not been possible to receive all our friends and comrades at this moment.



Mozambique People's Liberation Forces in Independence Day parade in Lourenço Marques.





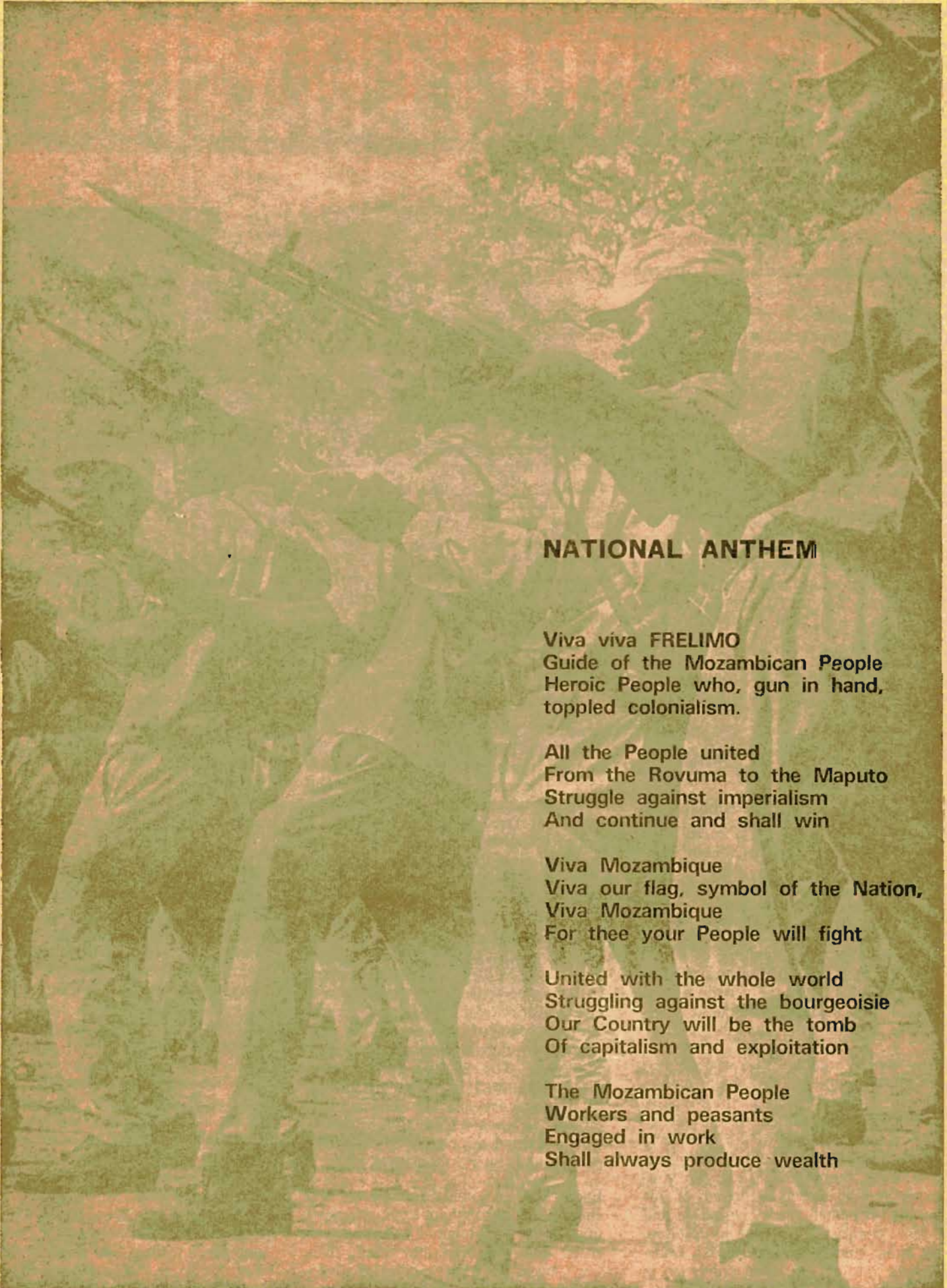
Above: Mozambican workers march in the Independence Day parade in Lourenço Marques.

Left: Schoolchildren give a gymnastics display during the Festival of Youth.

Below: President Samora with President Siad Barre of Somalia, Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, at the State Banquet in the evening of Independence Day.







## NATIONAL ANTHEM

Viva viva FRELIMO  
Guide of the Mozambican People  
Heroic People who, gun in hand,  
toppled colonialism.

All the People united  
From the Rovuma to the Maputo  
Struggle against imperialism  
And continue and shall win

Viva Mozambique  
Viva our flag, symbol of the Nation,  
Viva Mozambique  
For thee your People will fight

United with the whole world  
Struggling against the bourgeoisie  
Our Country will be the tomb  
Of capitalism and exploitation

The Mozambican People  
Workers and peasants  
Engaged in work  
Shall always produce wealth



# THE PROCLAMATION

**The FRELIMO Central Committee's historic proclamation,  
read by President Samora Machel  
at Machava Stadium, Lourenço Marques, on June 25, 1975**

"Mozambicans,  
Workers and peasants, workers in the plantations, in the saw-mills and in the concessions, workers in the mines, in the railways, in the harbours and in the factories, intellectuals, civil servants, students, Mozambican soldiers in the Portuguese army, men and women, young people, compatriots:

In the name of all of you,

FRELIMO today solemnly proclaims the general armed insurrection of the Mozambican people against Portuguese colonialism, for the conquest of Mozambique's total and complete Independence.

*Our struggle will not cease until the complete liquidation of Portuguese colonialism.*

Let us unite from the Rovuma to the Maputo.

Long live Independent Mozambique!

Long live FRELIMO

Long live united Africa!"

It was with these words that almost eleven years ago, on 25th September 1964, the Central Committee of FRELIMO issued the historic watchword for the launching of the general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

This watchword met with a deep response from among the broad masses who, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, were equally submitted to the savage rule of the occupier, to the greediness of his exploitation, the infamy of his continuing humiliation. The Mozambican found himself deprived of his national personality, his civilisation and culture completely denied and despised, his habits and customs ridiculed, transformed into an enslaved foreigner in his own country.

The brutality of repression and the terror it aroused, the cultural obscurantism systematically and deliberately aimed at uprooting people from their environment, the cold-blooded spreading of alcoholism and other vices, prostitution, the establishment of racism with its inherent complexes, the programmed division of the people on the basis of religion, and ethnic and regional origin, the systematisation of passive and submissive behaviour towards colonialism, with the active support of the churches, were some of the various methods used by foreign domination to stifle the creative ability of the masses, and keep them divided and impotent.

However, if colonialism succeeded in its purpose of conquest and domination, it did not manage to dominate the spirit of the masses and destroy their desire for freedom. The more blind the repression the more hatred was aroused against the barbarian aggressors. The greater the oppression and humiliation, the stronger became the desire for freedom. The more brutal the exploitation and plunder, the more powerful grew the desire for revolution.

Throughout the whole historical process of the war of conquest, the Mozambican People everywhere continually rose heroically against colonial greed. From the resistance of Monomotapa to the insurrection of Barué, Mozambican history can pride itself on the glorious feats of the masses in their struggle to defend freedom and independence. The historic resistance of the People owed its defeat exclusively to the treachery of the feudal ruling classes, to their greed and ambition, which enabled the enemy to divide the people and thus subjugate them.

Even after colonial domination was entrenched throughout the territory, opposition to foreign domination persisted and was even intensified: there were successive revolts against the colonial administration, an increasing exo-



**The birth of the People's Republic  
Machel, Pres**

dus of workers abroad, and protest movements were organised in the urban areas.

The transformation of colonialism into colonial-fascism did not succeed in stifling the determination of the People. Throughout the country, mothers educate their children in the traditions of national resistance.

The liquidation of nazism, the creation of the socialist camp, the victory of China, the defeat of the colonial armies in Indochina, the Algerian uprising and the emancipation of the African and Asian peoples, all stimulated national resistance.

Though still disorganised, there were popular uprisings like those in Mueda and Xinavane. The bloodshed of the workers who were imprisoned, depor-



# OF INDEPENDENCE



of Mozambique: On June 25, a few minutes after midnight, Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, reads the Proclamation of Independence.

ted, murdered and massacred served to increase national consciousness.

It was in this context that on 25 June 1962, Mozambican patriots, under the leadership of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, launched a new and victorious phase of national resistance: the creation of FRELIMO, which made possible the Mozambican people's organised and united struggle.

The creation of FRELIMO provided the decisive and fundamental weapon of unity for the Mozambican people's fight. FRELIMO, rooting itself in the purest traditions of the age-old struggle of the Mozambican working masses, assuming the true interests of the broad exploited, oppressed and humiliated strata, was able to clearly define the aims and methods of the fight for liberation.

In two years, under the watchword of unity and struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism, FRELIMO created the necessary conditions for the liberation struggle to go over to the phase of general armed insurrection, thus cementing and making operative the unity achieved.

It was under the leadership of FRELIMO and integrated in the ranks of FRELIMO that the Mozambican people redeemed the blood spilled over generations, regained command of their own history, made useful the sacrifice of their own lives, destroyed the enemy's vital forces, fully affirmed their African revolutionary personality, and imposed defeat on the colonial-fascist regime.

It was under the leadership of President Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mon-

dlane, whose glorious and unforgettable memory we venerate, that the Mozambican people consolidated their real unity, structured their organisation and, having exhausted peaceful means, launched the armed struggle for national liberation.

It was under the direction of FRELIMO, guided by the political line clear in the formulation of objectives and in the definition of the enemy, that the Mozambican people defeated the Portuguese colonial army.

Mozambicans,

Workers, peasants, and fighters,

Mozambican people,

In the name of all of you, at 00 hours today, 25th June 1975, the Central Committee of FRELIMO solemnly proclaims the total and complete Independence of Mozambique, and the creation of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The newly-born Republic is the concretisation of the aspirations of all Mozambicans, the extension to the whole country of the freedom already conquered during the liberation armed struggle in some areas of our country, the product of the sacrifices of nationalist fighters, the whole Mozambican People, the concretisation of our victory.

Our People's Republic is born from the blood of the people. Its consolidation and development is a debt of honour for every patriotic and revolutionary Mozambican.

The sovereign and independent People's Republic of Mozambique is a People's Democratic State, in which all patriotic strata under the leadership of the alliance of peasants and workers are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the vestiges of colonialism and imperialist dependence, to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural, social and administrative base of the new society.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, a State of the Mozambican working



people will be guided by FRELIMO, an instrument for the organisation and the mobilisation of the Mozambican People in the struggle for national liberation, which shall continue to guide the People in the new phase of the struggle for the building of the people's democratic State, for rebuilding the nation, for liquidating the exploitation of man by man.

At all levels the primacy of Party decisions and structures over those of the Government will be affirmed.

The Mozambique People's Liberation Forces under the leadership of FRELIMO, educated and forged in the liberation and class struggle, is part of our People's vanguard, their armed wing, a force for the mobilisation of the broad masses, an instrument for national reconstruction, and fundamentally a conscious revolutionary force for the defence of the interests of the working masses.

In the process of the material building of the new society, with agriculture as its base and industry as the propelling factor, relying upon its own forces and supported by its natural allies, the People's Republic of Mozambique will build a prosperous and independent advanced economy, ensuring the control over its natural resources for the benefit of the masses, progressively applying the just principle of to each according to his work and from everyone according to his ability.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will have political and administrative structures designed to apply the principle of People's Democratic Power, in which the democratically appointed representatives of the working masses will exercise power at all levels.

#### EDUCATION:

The objective of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the cultural wellbeing of all citizens, to achieve which it will promote the spread of education at all levels through democratisation guided by the State, the wiping out of elitism and discrimination in education based on wealth, and the formation of a new popular and revolutionary mentality in the new generation.

#### YOUTH:

The youth, the lifeblood of the nation, will be protected and priority will be given to their education, which will be

always closely linked with the life and the interests of the masses.

The State will promote knowledge and revitalisation of Mozambican culture and will spread it nationally and internationally, as a part of the consolidation of national unity and as an essential part of the Mozambican personality.

#### HEALTH:

The wiping out of disease, one of the features of colonialism and underdevelopment, will be a major concern. The People's Republic of Mozambique will extend the network of health services throughout the country, particularly into the rural areas, with the aim of benefitting the working masses.



The People's Republic of Mozambique will protect the family, encouraging its development through the protection of mothers and children.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, by following FRELIMO's political line, will be engaged in the struggle for the emancipation of woman, for her total liberation from the diverse forms of traditional and capitalist oppression, so that she may recover her role as a citizen enjoying full rights in our society, and so giving all her political, civic and social contribution.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards special protection of war widows and orphans, as well as people crippled by war, as an absolute duty of all Mozambicans. They are a symbol of the sacrifices offered by millions of Mozambicans during the period of colonial domination and of the struggle for national liberation.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will be a secular State in which there will be total separation between the State and any church or religion. The State will guarantee full freedom of

conscience and the right of every citizen to practise a religion or not.

Born of the liberation struggle for national independence, the People's Republic of Mozambique is in fundamental solidarity with national liberation movements, and militant internationalism is a basic constant of its national and international policies.

The People's Republic of Mozambique regards itself as an integral part of mankind's oppressed peoples and classes fighting to change the world and to establish a new and just social order.

The People's Republic of Mozambique has as its natural allies the socialist countries, which constitute a liberated area of mankind, the young States, in particular African countries committed with the national liberation movement in one of the main fronts of anti-imperialist struggle, the democratic and progressive forces, the working masses of all mankind.

The People's Republic of Mozambique, born of a long, hard and difficult struggle, learned and appreciates the value of peace. It will therefore undertake with no hesitations a policy aimed at establishing a genuine peace based on justice, and here and now declares itself to be in favour of a general and complete world disarmament. Because of the particular responsibility due to its geographic position, the People's Republic of Mozambique affirms its concern that the Indian Ocean should be made into a zone of peace.

Mozambicans, women and men.

This is the first State in which power belongs to us, this is our own country born out of the plunder, ruins, sacrifices, and bloodshed.

We salute our flag, symbol of our victory, and we salute its honourable insignias of study, work, and struggle.

United under the leadership of FRELIMO from the Rovuma to the Maputo, dedicated to the liberating work that is the basis for all things, with the banner of vigilance raised high, let us build, consolidate and develop our State, and our Power, and our Victory.

LONG LIVE FRELIMO!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!





President Samora and Vice-President Marcelino dos Santos at the investiture

On the day of Independence, the President of FRELIMO, Comrade Samora Moisés Machel, was invested as President of the People's Republic of Mozambique at a ceremony in the Lourenço Marques Town Hall. At the beginning of the ceremony, the Vice-President of FRELIMO, Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, read the following declaration:

**COMRADES,  
COMPATRIOTS,**

IN May 1970, the Central Committee of FRELIMO decided to entrust Comrade Samora Moises Machel with the task of President of the Mozambique Liberation Front.

A few days ago, the sixth session of the Central Committee entrusted Comrade Samora Moises Machel with a new task, that of President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

On both occasions, although they were under different circumstances, the Central Committee's decision was motivated by identical objectives and reasons.

Now as then, the essential thing is to ensure the triumph of FRELIMO's correct political line. Now as then, it is a matter of eliminating the reacti-

## Investiture of the President of the Republic

onary forces and imperialism, and imposing the interests of the working masses. Now as then, it is essential that the Mozambican people continue to fulfil their internationalist duty.

Comrade Samora Moises Machel is a militant forged and seasoned in the hard process of the people's liberation war, formed in political and armed combat, in class struggle.

Comrade Samora Moises Machel is a veteran of Frelimo and a veteran of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces who, in every crisis, every difficulty, every difficult moment, always defended and made his own the interests of the majority, the interests of the Revolution, the cause

of the working people, the workers and peasants.

As a militant, as the founder of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, as a member of the Central Committee and as a top leader, Comrade Samora Moises Machel demonstrated in practice that he is, in the real sense of the word, a true servant of the people who is prepared to sacrifice himself for the majority.

For we know his ability to plan and lead and his identification with the masses.

The Central Committee's decision, joyfully supported by the broad working masses, is a just decision which corresponds to the present requirements and tasks of the Mozambique Revolution.

It is within this context that, on behalf of the FRELIMO militants, the workers and peasants, the entire Mozambican people united from the Rovuma to the Maputo, the Central Committee of FRELIMO invests Comrade Samora Moises Machel, President of FRELIMO, with the functions of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique.



## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO THE NATION ON INDEPENDENCE DAY



# A State born of our People's struggle

Mozambican women,  
Mozambican men,  
Workers, peasants and fighters,  
Compatriots,

At 00 hours today the People's Republic of Mozambique was born, a State born of our people's struggle for freedom and independence, which spanned many centuries, a State in which the power of the alliance of working people is being established in our country for the first time.

The profound historical significance of this moment in the life of our people cannot escape any Mozambican, nor any citizen of any other country, whether free or still oppressed, and neither can the international dimension of this fact in relation to the community of nations, of which we are now becoming a full and integral part.

But it is not so much about the present we are living through, although exalting, which can be seen in our faces, houses and streets, and which exists even more profoundly in our consciousness, it is not so much about

the present of happiness, enthusiasm and euphoria that we are going to speak. We wish, above all, to recall the past, so as to foresee and plan the future better.

We wish first and foremost to recall the memory of our heroes, those who fell in the struggle against the foreign invaders, those who perished in the slaughter-houses of Portuguese colonialism, through deportation, the slave trade and forced labour, those who were condemned by colonial-fascism to slow death, family disintegration, spiritual disintegration and depersonalisation.

We wish to honour the memory of all the glorious fighters who have fallen in the course of the armed struggle for national liberation and, before all else and to remind everyone, we cite the imperishable memory of the First President and founder of FRELIMO, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane. Their blood laid the foundations for the new Mozambican nation which asserted itself in the course of those ten years in our zones of struggle and clandestine

work, which already took on material form in our liberated areas and which, before it was transformed into the national reality we are celebrating today, was already alive in our consciousness.

We ask every Mozambican from the Rovuma to the Maputo to join us in observing a minute of silence in their memory.

The People's Republic of Mozambique is being born as the fruit of the Mozambican people's unshakable will and iron determination to win back their freedom and enjoy the supreme and inalienable right of all peoples — national independence.

At this time when we are winning this independence, we must reflect on the reality which prevailed in the previous situation, under colonial domination.

Why did colonialism kill? Why did it seize, deport and massacre people? Why were our mothers and wives raped, our traditions humiliated, our civilisation negated and Mozambicans arrested for the slightest show of pa-



triotism? Why was alcoholism made widespread and prostitution and the disintegration of the family encouraged, and why were whole families removed from their home regions and forced to abandon their ancestral lands, their cattle, houses and few possessions? Why did all this happen in many places in our country, as the unmistakable mark of the Portuguese colonialists? Could this have been a sadistic manifestation of the evil genius of a people, the result of the bestial wickedness of a man or group of men?

Let us not deceive ourselves about this. Portuguese colonialism was the form that imperialist domination assumed in our country, the exploitation of a whole people and their resources by foreign capitalism, both Portuguese and from other countries. It was in order to exploit our labour power that thousands of Mozambicans were enslaved and taken to the coasts of the Americas, where the few who arrived were sold as commodities. It was in order to exploit our sweat that the colonial administrators seized us and sent us into forced labour.

It was in order to appropriate the wealth of our soil that entire regions were set aside for certain crops, such as cotton, which the people were forced to grow, dying of hunger while the big concessionary companies accumulated fabulous profits.

It was in order to plunder our sub-soil that the big multinationals were granted concessions and mining facilities which they used to drain our country of its wealth.

It was in order to keep our people subjected to its domination that colonialism tried—in some cases, particularly in the urban areas, with some success—to destroy our personality, sow division and create a slave mentality towards the foreigner. Assimilation was not merely the fascist caprice of a senile dictator, but was in fact mental enslavement to the foreigner in its purest form, a deliberate process of negating all the culture, history and traditions of our people. A man thus spiritually destroyed became a living corpse, a docile receptacle for the colonisers' way of thinking, acting and living.

Religion, and especially the Catholic church, was a powerful factor in the cultural and human alienation of the Mozambican, to make him a docile instrument and object of exploitation, and smash any display of resistance in the name of Christian resignation.

This is the heritage we are reaping today. A heritage of poverty and social and economic backwardness which the superficial beauty of the skyscrapers and grassy hills can never hide. One need only travel the length and breadth of our country, one need only know that the expression «from the Rovuma to the Maputo» is not a mere slogan for us, but a reality we feel in our flesh and blood, to understand that the age-old backwardness, disease, nakedness, hunger and ignorance are the bountiful fruit of the very tree that sprouted, grew and thrived together with colonialism, and which is known as exploitation.

It is an evil and noxious tree which we have not as yet uprooted; it is a leech which is still sucking our blood, weakening our resistance, ability and intelligence. It is a python which is today dressing itself in the skin of the very same victim that it would have swallowed yesterday.

We are not going to trace here the history of the national liberation process through the events which took place in it. But a recapitulation of the political process involved, albeit brief, is needed in order to understand the birth today of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the line that guides it. In Mozambican history, the fight for a revolutionary political line has been intrinsically bound up with the fight for unity.

The struggle to defend and consolidate unity, the driving force of the liberation struggle, demanded permanent vigilance and action to neutralise and eliminate the manoeuvres of the enemy and of national opportunist and reactionary forces. This same struggle required a constant fight to clarify and develop FRELIMO's political line, especially as regards the definition of who is the enemy and the nature, methods and objectives of the fight.

The successive dividing lines that were drawn within FRELIMO and the process of cleansing our ranks which was established, revealed in practice that the contradictions which arose reflected antagonistic interests, the contradiction between the working masses and a handful of new exploiters who wanted to take the place of the colonial bourgeoisie as an exploiting class.

By defining racism, regionalism and tribalism as enemies to be fought against, just like colonialism, the Central Committee meeting held in October 1966 deprived the opportunists of the chief instruments of their anti-

-people manoeuvres. The same meeting put an end to the contradiction between political militants and military militants by defining the struggle as a politico-military one, thus enabling the most vanguard elements to free themselves from the control of marginal reactionary elements. The historic decision to entrust the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique with creating the Women's Detachment, women's instrument in their historic struggle for emancipation, broadened the base of mass support for our struggle and brought new decisive forces into the revolutionary fight.

These ideological victories permitted the impetuous advance of the liberation struggle, the destruction of substantial enemy forces, the expansion of the armed struggle to Tete Province, the transformation of the semi-liberated areas into areas free from the system of exploitation and the beginning of the process of creating operational bases.

Our politico-military victories having made Portuguese colonialism more desperate and increased the isolation of the strata among us with exploitative designs, the contradictions between the masses and the exploitative system became more marked.

In a desperate attempt to stave off their inevitable defeat, the colonialist and reactionary forces joined forces and launched an offensive of manoeuvres and crimes against the correct political line headed by Comrade Eduardo Mondlane.

The Second Congress of FRELIMO, which was held in the liberated areas of Niassa Province in June 1968, exposed and neutralised the reactionary forces and their ideas, enabling the broad masses to consolidate their unity behind FRELIMO's just and clear objectives.

This fresh victory unleashed a wave of reactionary violence in which new national exploiters, now openly allied with the colonial-imperialist forces, started a process of physical liquidation of revolutionary militants and leaders, a process which culminated in the barbarous assassination of Comrade Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane on 3 February 1969.

The assassination of the leader who embodied the national and revolutionary dimension of our struggle and the actual implementation of FRELIMO's line and practice, was aimed at decapitating the Mozambican Revolution



and enabling representatives of the new exploiting classes, faithful servants of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, to seize power.

Assuming the heritage of Comrade Eduardo Mondlane, closely integrated with the masses of the people and resolutely supported by the fighters of the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, the most dedicated sons of the people, the revolutionary vanguard of FRELIMO stood up against the forces of opportunism and reaction during the historic Central Committee meetings held in April 1969 and May 1970, and exposed, isolated, neutralised and eliminated the erroneous political line of the new exploiters.

This victory, which led to the cleansing of our ranks and the deepening of FRELIMO's ideology, created the conditions for transforming the armed struggle into a people's war, for going over from a liberation struggle to the higher phase of a people's democratic revolution.

The ideological transformations which took place led to a new impetuous development of the liberation struggle: the strategic defeat of colonialism in the period from May to September 1970 during Operation Gordian Knot, the smashing of the blockade of the Zambezi by the expansion of the armed struggle to south of the Zambezi in November 1970, and the opening of the Manica e Sofala front in June 1972.

It was from the time of the failure of the big Gordian Knot enemy operation that the irreversible deep-rooted and profoundly popular nature of the revolutionary process led by FRELIMO was affirmed, and it was from that time that the disintegration of squalid Portuguese colonialism started to be hastened at a giddy pace.

Neither the transformation of the colonial war into a colonial-imperialist war through the internationalisation of the aggression against our people nor the intensification of the plunder of our resources by the monopolies, the most criminal strategic plans like the Cahora Bassa one, could halt the progress of our struggle and its progressive expansion to the whole country.

The attempt to terrorise our people by widespread terrorism, the systematic bombing of villages, schools, hospitals, cultivated fields, the use of chemical agents and, finally, massacres like those at Wiryamu, João, Chawola and Inha-

minga, sharpened the contradictions and strengthened the people's determination to destroy the enemy.

At the international level, Portuguese colonial-fascism, which still had some room for manoeuvre, thanks to the active complicity of the capitalist countries, and particularly some members of NATO, started to be denounced with renewed vigour and was isolated abroad, as shown by the expulsion of Portugal from one international organisation after another.

The watchword issued by the Central Committee in December 1972, calling for a general offensive on all fronts, hastened the collapse of the enemy.

It is obvious that the general offensive was not confined simply to stepping up large-scale battles, and neither could it have been successful, even militarily, had it been reduced to this. In issuing the watchword calling for a general offensive on all fronts, the 1972 Central Committee meeting affirmed, first and foremost, the need for ideological unity. In other words, actual practice had shown that unity based on the negation of the enemy and on just the demand for independence was not enough. It was essential that unity be achieved on the basis of a clear and unequivocal definition of the principles of what we want to do, how we want to do it, and what kind of society we want to build, and above all, the principles asserted must be lived by and developed through consistent practice.

The struggle therefore spread, new fronts were opened and the ideological line gained strength in the liberated areas, establishing a clear dividing line in relation to the enemy-controlled zone. Sound foundations were laid for people's democratic power.

It was a correct line combined with correct practice which led to the destruction and defeat of Portuguese colonialism and opened up a new phase in the Mozambican people's independence process which started with the Lusaka Agreement and has just ended with the proclamation of the complete national independence of Mozambique.

The task of the Transitional Government was essentially that of consolidating the power so arduously won, especially by extending popular mobilisation and making it more far-reaching. We congratulate the Transitional Government for the success it has achieved in its task, for the conditions it

created for people's power to be really extended and consolidated in our country.

We need to be conscious of the great difficulties we shall have to face as a result of the colonial situation, which the Transitional Government could obviously only partially tackle.

With the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique we are starting a new phase of our history in which we are going to put into practice everywhere in the country the political, ideological, economic, social and cultural gains won during the struggle.

To say the People's Republic is not to voice an empty and demagogic formula. To say the People's Republic means to give substance to the aspirations of millions of dominated and exploited Mozambicans for whom independence is a precondition for the end of exploitation and the establishment of a people's regime.

To say the People's Republic is to say Independence, to say the People's Republic is to say Revolution.

The State is not an eternal and immutable structure; the State is not the bureaucratic machinery of civil servants, nor something abstract or a mere technical apparatus. The State is always the organised form through which a class takes power in order to fulfil its interests. The colonial State, an instrument of domination and exploitation by a foreign bourgeoisie and imperialism which has already been partially destroyed by the struggle, must be replaced by a People's State, forged through an alliance of workers and peasants, guided by FRELIMO and defended by the People's Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique, a State which wipes out exploitation and releases the creative initiative of the masses and the productive forces.

In the phase of people's democracy in which we are now engaged as a phase of the Mozambican revolutionary process, our aim is to lay the material, ideological, administrative and social foundations of our State.

We need to be aware that the apparatus we are now inheriting is, in its nature, composition and methods, a profoundly retrograde and reactionary structure which has to be completely revolutionised in order to put it at the service of the masses.

There are other realities we also need to be profoundly conscious of: the fact



that we are winning political power but do not yet have economic power, that the administrative, educational, health, judicial and other machinery still escaped our control.

The new battle is only beginning.

Against us are the exploiters and privileged, who will try to impede the revolutionary process with all the means available to them. We must not be deceived by the fact that the enemy are not now resorting to direct action. They are only weakened, not dead. Their methods will therefore become more treacherous. Right now we already have proof of this action, of infiltration, attempts to distort our line and political opportunism.

Our unity will be an essential target of enemy activity. Unity, we continue to repeat, is not just a feeling or something abstract. Vital unity is sustained by a clear concept of our objectives and a precise understanding of the tasks for each moment. Unity implies drawing an ever firmer dividing line between us and the enemy, regardless of the form he may take.

Through practice and its action, FRELIMO has asserted itself as the leading force in our society. For this very reason, the broad masses, from the Rovuma to the Maputo, have quite spontaneously fully identified with FRELIMO's principles and fight.

This tremendous popular support has tremendous potential and, properly channelled and structured, is an inexhaustible source of progress, an invincible force. At a time when the tasks of consolidating the power of the worker-peasant alliance are a priority and when the new phase of national reconstruction is starting, it is essential that FRELIMO be in a position, structurally and organisationally, to carry through the giant tasks that face it.

It is primarily a matter of carrying out an ideological offensive to wipe out the colonial and capitalist mentality which is deeply rooted in the urban areas, as well as the feudal traditional mentality which is predominant in the rural areas. An ideological offensive will enable the working masses to understand their historic role, their leading role in the process of transformation which is now underway. This task must be preceded by the consistent heightening of the political and ideological level of cadres seasoned and forged in the process of the people's libe-



Listening to the President's message

ration war. It was for this very reason that the last Central Committee meeting decided to give priority to the setting up of a Party School.

The task of mobilising and organising the masses in the tough class struggle which is approaching can be entrusted only to cadres who have been put to the test of practice. One of the main bastions of the system of exploitation of man is the complex machinery we are inheriting as regards administration, the judiciary, education, health, etc.

Irrespective of the goodwill and honesty of the people who make it up, this machinery was designed solely to serve foreign domination and the system of exploitation of man. It is therefore imperative for us to create a new mentality and way of seeing things, and to instill new methods in the people who are in it. This work can be done only if authentic representatives of the labouring classes are in a position to assume their leading role.

These factors explain the reasons, some of the main reasons, why FRELIMO must remain the leading force in State structures.

In the present battle, the people have a most valuable instrument: the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, forged and seasoned in the tough

fight against colonial-imperialist aggression, and also in the fight against both old and new exploiters. The historical circumstances experienced by our people over the past decade have made the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces a great and inexhaustible store of revolutionary cadres.

By consistently raising the political and class consciousness of the fighters, consistently raising their educational, cultural and technical level, strengthening discipline in our ranks, reinforcing the feeling of internationalist duty and educating the new generation of fighters in the glorious revolutionary tradition of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, we shall always have a decisive force to defend our country, the Revolution and the interests of the masses of the people.

Now as in the past, the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces are also a combat detachment on the fundamental fronts of production, study and mass mobilisation. Active participation on these fronts will enable the fighters to internalise the political dimension which will prepare them always to perform their patriotic and revolutionary duty.

The participation of women in the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces within the framework of the Women's Detachment, is imperative



to the battle for women's emancipation, in the fight to involve women in the revolutionary process. Women's participation in work traditionally regarded as exclusively for men is a profoundly mobilising factor, a decisive factor establishing sexual equality in practice.

The Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) is called upon to develop its activities everywhere in the country, dealing with the crying problems faced by women.

In order to fulfil its task, OMM must rely firmly and surely on the Women's Detachment, which is in practice the Mozambican women's vanguard.

The battle for women's emancipation is also an ideological battle against ideas which stem from decadent traditions and against the multiple attempts by the bourgeoisie to destroy the value of the fight for freedom. The fight is also an organisational one, a fight to establish structures among the least organised and most oppressed, humiliated and exploited women.

A greater number of democratic mass organisations, particularly for the youth and workers, need to come into being, after prior work by FRELIMO to organise those sectors.

At this time when we are proclaiming our independence, we must carefully avoid being carried away by emotional feelings of euphoria, especially in analysing our economic and social situation. It in no way diminishes the greatness of our struggle and of our people and country to have to acknowledge that the economic and financial situation is catastrophic, as a result of unbridled plunder, the financial conditions imposed by colonialism and the disorganised exploitation of our potentials.

It is therefore necessary to undertake a cool-headed analysis, sector by sector of economic, social, educational, cultural and health conditions in our country, so as to arrive at better methods of fighting. This will be the first task of our Government. Some of the problems to which priority will be given are solving the problems of unemployment, poverty, illiteracy, abandoned children, prostitution and banditry.

We must therefore draw up a national development policy, a correct policy on the use of our resources. The definition of the policy to be pursued is essential to establishing the priorities to be observed.

In establishing our development strategy, we must attach special value to what is our chief strength, the mobilization and organisation of the people. Here too, we must seek inspiration from our own experience, in particular in the liberated areas. One need only compare the successes in the work of reconstruction in the liberated areas, which are now apparent to everyone, with the misery in which people lived in the enemy concentration camps, despite the large sums spent on them. Therefore, we shall not seek solutions to our problems in miraculous palliatives coming from abroad, but we shall rely above all on our own forces, getting down to work with determination, with a clear programme and clear objectives.

In this respect, we should like to emphasise the role we continue to ascribe to the liberated areas, to FRELIMO's bases and centres, as a store and source of inspiration for our Revolution. It is in these areas that the population has already been living long years outside colonial society and its vices, defects and corrosive influence. It is in our centres and bases that a new and truly free generation is growing up, one which really deserves the name of continuadores (the continuers of the revolution).

Clearly, the creation of a new life in the liberated areas was not an accident or the automatic result of breaking of contact with colonial society. Far-reaching political, ideological and organisational efforts had to be made to overcome the influence of the past, the attempts of traditional forms to reassert themselves and the new exploiters.

It is important to remember this experience in order to prepare for the new phase. Anyone who visits our whole country can note the big problem posed by the scattered population and the difficulty, under these circumstances, for the Government to organise social, educational and health services, in short, to improve the living conditions of these people. Hence, under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in the rural areas will be structured in revolutionary societies, in the final analysis in communal villages, where that people will have an organised life, developing production collectively, on the basis of their traditions, and promoting the exchange of knowledge.

In accordance with available means and observing the principle of self-reliance, the State will give all possible help to these communal societies, en-

couraging them to multiply and develop. In this way, it will be possible to provide the people with services which will really enable them to enjoy greater well-being, especially by raising their technical and educational level, and by supplying water, electricity, health care and cultural activities.

Organising communal societies must be a priority in our activity, for both the Party and the State. The Party must launch a big campaign to mobilise and explain, at the best living and production conditions.

The fulfillment of the giant tasks that lie ahead of us implies achieving and consolidating unity. To be united it is not enough to state that one is united. It is necessary to wage a constant battle against all divisive situations and tendencies.

It is necessary to understand the grandeur, diversity and complexity of our country. Knowing this complexity means studying the divisiveness in our country and the ways of combating it.

Among the various vestiges of colonialism, Mozambican society has to a very high degree one typical form of discrimination, that based on racial and social groups.

In Mozambique we see parallel societies, taking the form of clubs, set up on the basis of race or of greater or lesser pigmentation, which have no contact with one another apart from compulsory and superficial contact during their working hours.

This kind of social organisation abounds with superiority and inferiority complexes, with repressions and tensions.

It is imperative that all these specific peculiarities give way to real unity between Mozambicans. We do not know tribes, regions, races or religious beliefs. We know only Mozambicans who are equally exploited and equally desirous of freedom and revolution.

We should like also to devote our attention to the problem of the relations which have traditionally existed between the church, religion and the State and to state very clearly what these relations will be in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

In the society we want to build, the State will be based on the principle that all change in society is a result of man's struggle on the fronts of class struggle, the fight for production and



scientific innovation, and also the contradictions in natural phenomena.

Colonialism, capitalism, the different systems of exploitation of man in our society, have always been associated with religious institutions. The colonial State transformed the faith of believers into a tool for neutralising the people's legitimate rebellion.

It is the duty of the State to guarantee freedom of conscience for its citizens which implies especially the protection of children against indoctrination within State institutions, as happened in the colonial schools which subjected children of differing religious origins to the evangelising of the Catholic church.

In order to respect freedom of conscience, the State cannot be connected with any religions or appear to have links with any of them.

It is up to the State to ensure the freely exercised right of every citizen to believe or not believe. The mobilisation of the masses is a right and a duty won solely by FRELIMO through arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism. The close association of religious institutions with the machinery of aggression and domination over our people certainly does not give them any right today to demand something against which they have always fought.

The Mozambican people did not struggle alone. Throughout the tough armed fight for national liberation FRELIMO established relations of friendship, solidarity and mutual help with peoples and countries sharing the same aspirations of freedom, independence and social progress.

This assertion does not stem only from feelings of gratitude although, on this day of happiness, we cannot fail to say how much the Mozambican people appreciate and esteem the fraternal and disinterested help they received from peoples, countries, organisations and individuals who made their efforts and sacrifices effective and victorious.

In the first lines of this combat front we find the national liberation movements, fighters in the same fight and the same trench, comrades in arms who struggled alongside us and with whom we have established fraternal and indestructible relations of solidarity. To them we wish to affirm, above all, in this liberated African land, that the

People's Republic of Mozambique fully assumes the internationalist dimension of the fight for the liberation of Africa and mankind and that our common struggle continues.

Through our Comrade and friend President Mohamed Siad Barre, current Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), we wish to hail all of independent Africa, our great and reliable rear base. Through his illustrious person as a revolutionary African militant, we wish to hail the political, moral, diplomatic, and material support of African countries and their consistent solidarity with our struggle.

We wish, in particular, to hail our brothers from Tanzania and Zambia who, without any hesitation or calculation of any kind, accepted all the risks involved in their position as our strategic rear, who suffered loss of life and property because they did not compromise with colonialism and made their contribution to Africa's liberation.

Because our struggle was, correctly, a part of the common anti-imperialist fight, the Mozambican people, under the leadership of FRELIMO, took up their posts in the great world front of revolutionary forces. It is within this context of political and ideological solidarity that we see our relations with the socialist countries, a liberated area of mankind where a new society is being built free from the exploitation of man by man.

The People's Republic of Mozambique will develop and intensify its militant relations with all socialist countries, seeking to benefit from their experience, in so far as it is the common patrimony of mankind in the political, ideological, organisational, economic, social and cultural spheres.

In hailing the progressive forces we cannot fail to salute the Portuguese people, who were always our allies in the fight against colonial-fascism and with whom we have bonds of fraternal solidarity forged through our mutual help and reciprocal contribution in the struggle for the liberation of our two peoples.

Because our struggle never took on a racial character and because our people were always able to distinguish between the colonial-fascist regime and the Portuguese people, today we can extend a friendly hand to the Portuguese people,

without any complexes of any kind, so that we can build a future of friendship together, without hatred or feelings of revenge, on the basis of mutual respect and respect for the personality of each people.

Within the context of its policy of peace, friendship and solidarity with all peoples, the People's Republic of Mozambique wishes to establish healthy relations of international cooperation with all States, irrespective of their social regime, on the basis of non-interference in internal affairs, absolute equality and mutual benefit.

These principles, however, do not permit us to sacrifice the true interests of the people to transitory historical circumstances. As has always been the case in the past, we shall not coexist with fascism and colonialism.

We attach great importance to developing our relations with the States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are also victims of imperialist plunder and aggression.

We also consider it important to develop our relations with the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Holland, which were able to understand the justness of the anticolonial cause.

We are prepared to assume our responsibilities within the African and international community and, within this context, we shall apply for membership of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Organisation, both international organisations which have served the cause of national liberation and peace.

Mozambican women, Mozambican men.

We have won our independence by dint of our struggle, our sacrifices and our revolutionary consciousness.

We marched, struggled and died to defend the interests of the masses of the working people.

In starting out on this new path, illuminated by the heroism of our martyrs and guided by FRELIMO's political line, we have one unshakable certainty:

WE SHALL MAKE REVOLUTION TRIUMPH! LONG LIVE FRELIMO! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE! THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...



# THE CONSTITUTION

## OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

### SECTION I

#### General Principles

##### ARTICLE 1

The People's Republic of Mozambique, the fruit of the Mozambican People's centuries-old resistance and their heroic and victorious struggle, under the leadership of FRELIMO, against Portuguese colonial domination and imperialism, is a sovereign, independent and democratic State.

##### ARTICLE 2

The People's Republic of Mozambique is a State based on people's democracy in which all patriotic strata engage in building a new society, free from the exploitation of man by man.

In the People's Republic of Mozambique power belongs to the workers and peasants united and led by FRELIMO, and is exercised by the organs of people's power.

##### ARTICLE 3

The People's Republic of Mozambique is guided by the political line laid down by FRELIMO, which is the leading force of the State and Society. FRELIMO lays down the basic political orientation of the State and directs and supervises the work of state organs, in order to ensure that the State policy is in conformity with the people's interests.

##### ARTICLE 4

The People's Republic of Mozambique has the following fundamental objectives:

- the elimination of colonial and traditional structures of oppression and exploitation and the mentality that underlies them;
- the extension and strengthening of people's democratic power;
- the building of an independent economy and

the promotion of cultural and social progress;

- the defence and consolidation of national independence and unity;
- the establishment and development of friendly relations and cooperation with other peoples and States;
- the pursuit of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

##### ARTICLE 5

As an essential element of State power, the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces have a fundamental responsibility for the defence and consolidation of national independence and unity. At the same time, they are a force for production and for the political mobilisation of the masses of the people.

The activity and development of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces are based on FRELIMO's political leadership and on close links with the people.

Participation in the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces, with its great tradition of struggle, heroism and identification with the revolutionary cause of the people, is an honour and a sacred duty for all citizens, of both sexes, of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces is the President of FRELIMO.

The Commander-in-Chief of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces has the power to appoint or dismiss top level military cadres.

##### ARTICLE 6

The People's Republic of Mozambique, taking agriculture as the base and industry as the propelling and decisive factor, directs its economic policy towards wiping out

underdevelopment and creating conditions for raising the living standards of the working people. In pursuing this aim, the State essentially relies on the creative force of the people and on the country's economic resources, giving total support to agricultural production, promoting adequate development of productive enterprises, and undertaking the exploitation of natural resources. In the process of building an advanced economic base for the People's Republic of Mozambique, the State shall proceed to eliminate the exploitation of man by man.

##### ARTICLE 7

In the People's Republic of Mozambique work is esteemed and protected, and is the driving force of development. Work is the right and duty of every citizen of either sex, and it is the criterion for the distribution of national wealth.



##### ARTICLE 8

The land and the natural resources of the soil and sub-soil, of the territorial waters and continental shelf of Mozambique, are the property of the State. The State determines the conditions of their development and use.

The People's Republic of Mozambique recognises the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the 29th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation.

##### ARTICLE 9

The State promotes and plans the economy, with a view to

guaranteeing the correct development of the country's wealth and its use for the benefit of the Mozambican people.

##### ARTICLE 10

In the People's Republic of Mozambique the State economic sector is the leading and driving factor in the national economy.

State property is given special protection, its development and expansion being the responsibility of all State organs, social organisations and citizens.

##### ARTICLE 11

The State encourages individual peasants and workers to organise themselves in collective forms of production, whose development it supports and guides.

##### ARTICLE 12

The State recognises and guarantees personal property.

##### ARTICLE 13

Obligations are attached to private property. Private property cannot be used to the detriment of the interests defined in the Constitution.

Income and private property are subject to progressive taxes, established on the basis of criteria of social justice.

##### ARTICLE 14

Foreign capital shall be authorised to operate within the framework of the State's economic policy.

##### ARTICLE 15

The People's Republic of Mozambique carries out a vigorous battle against illiteracy and obscurantism, and promotes the development of the national culture and personality. The State strives to make the Mozambican culture known internationally and to ensure that the Mozambican people benefit from the revo-



lutionary cultural gains of other peoples.

#### ARTICLE 16

The People's Republic of Mozambique organises a health system which shall benefit the entire Mozambican people.

#### ARTICLE 17

The emancipation of women is one of the State's essential tasks. In the People's Republic of Mozambique women and men have equal rights and duties, this equality extending to the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

#### ARTICLE 18

The youth have always played a decisive role in the national liberation struggle, and they have a fundamental responsibility in the construction of a new society.

The State encourages and promotes youth's initiative in the reconstruction and defence of the country.

#### ARTICLE 19

The People's Republic of Mozambique is a secular State in which there is absolute separation between the State and religious institutions.

In the People's Republic of Mozambique the activities of religious institutions must conform with the State's laws.

#### ARTICLE 20

The People's Republic of Mozambique struggles against the exploitation of man by man, against imperialism and colonialism, for the unity of African peoples and States on the basis of respect for the liberty and dignity of these peoples and States and their right to political, economic and social progress.

The People's Republic of Mozambique pursues a policy of strengthening relations of friendship and mutual help with young States engaged in the same battle to consolidate national independence and democracy, and to regain the use and control of their natural resources for the benefit of their peoples.

#### ARTICLE 21

The People's Republic of Mozambique gives its support and solidarity to the struggle of the peoples for national liberation.

#### ARTICLE 22

The People's Republic of Mozambique consolidates and develops solidarity with its natural allies the socialist countries, solidarity forged in the struggle for national independence.

The People's Republic of Mozambique establishes and develops relations of friendship and cooperation with all democratic and progressive forces in the world.

#### ARTICLE 23

The People's Republic of Mozambique establishes relations of friendship and cooperation with all States on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality, non interference in internal affairs and reciprocal benefit.

The People's Republic of Mozambique accepts, observes and applies the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity.

#### ARTICLE 24

The People's Republic of Mozambique defends the principle of the general and universal disarmament of all States.

The People's Republic of Mozambique defends the principle of turning the Indian Ocean into a non-nuclear zone of peace.

The People's Republic of Mozambique pursues a policy of peace, resorting to force only in the case of legitimate defence.

#### ARTICLE 25

The People's Republic of Mozambique grants the right of asylum to foreigners persecuted because of their struggle for peace, democracy and national and social liberation.

### SECTION II

#### Fundamental rights and duties of citizens

#### ARTICLE 26

All citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique enjoy the same rights and are subject to the same duties, irrespective of colour, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, level of education, social position or occupation.

Any acts aimed at jeopardising social harmony, or creating divisions or privileged positions based on colour, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, level of education, social position or occupation, are punishable by law.

#### ARTICLE 27

In the People's Republic of Mozambique all citizens have the right and duty, within the framework of the Constitution, to take part in the process of creating and consolidating democracy at all levels of society and the State. In fulfilling the objectives of the Constitution, all citizens enjoy freedom of opinion, assembly and association.



#### ARTICLE 28

All citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique over 18 years of age are entitled to vote and be elected, with the exception of those legally deprived of that right.

#### ARTICLE 29

In the People's Republic of Mozambique women and men enjoy the same rights and are subject to the same duties. This principle shall guide all the legislative and executive work of the State. The State protects marriage, the family, motherhood and childhood.

#### ARTICLE 30

Active participation in the defence of the country and the Revolution is the right and the highest duty of every man and woman citizen of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

#### ARTICLE 31

In the People's Republic of Mozambique work and education are the right and duty of every citizen. Combating the situation of backwardness created by colonialism, the State promotes the necessary conditions for extending enjoyment of those rights to all citizens.

#### ARTICLE 32

All citizens have the right to assistance in the event of disablement and in old age.

The State promotes the creation of bodies which guarantee the exercise of that right.

#### ARTICLE 33

Individual freedoms are guaranteed by the State for all citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique. These freedoms include the inviolability of the home and the secrecy of correspondence, and they cannot be limited except in cases specially provided for by the law. In the People's Republic of Mozambique the State guarantees the freedom of citizens to practice or not to practice a religion.

#### ARTICLE 34

The State ensures special protection for the orphans and other dependents of FRELIMO militants who died while fulfilling missions, as well as for those maimed or disabled in the liberation struggle.

#### ARTICLE 35

In the People's Republic of Mozambique no one can be arrested or tried except under terms of the law. The State guarantees accused persons the right to legal defence.

#### ARTICLE 36

All citizens of the People's Republic of Mozambique have the duty to respect the Constitution and the law. The State prohibits any misuse of individual rights and freedoms prejudicial to the people's interests.

The State severely punishes all acts of treason, subversion, sabotage and, in general, acts carried out against FRELIMO's objectives and against revolutionary people's order.

### SECTION III

#### State Organs

#### CHAPTER I

##### People's Assembly

#### ARTICLE 37

The People's Assembly is the supreme organ of the State in the People's Republic of Mozambique. The People's Assembly is the highest legislative organ of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Pending further definition of the composition and requirements for the election of members of the People's Assembly.



bly, it shall comprise the following members:

1. The members of FRELIMO's Central Committee;
2. The members of FRELIMO's Executive Committee;
3. The Ministers and Vice-Ministers of the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique;
4. The Provincial Governors;
5. Members chosen by FRELIMO's Central Committee from among the cadres of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces;
6. Two representatives per province of democratic mass organizations, designated by FRELIMO's Central Committee;
7. Members chosen by the Central Committee from among FRELIMO cadres;
8. No more than ten reputable citizens chosen by FRELIMO's Central Committee.

#### ARTICLE 38

The People's Assembly shall have no more than two hundred and ten members. The People's Assembly may deliberate only if the majority of its members are present. Decisions of the People's Assembly are taken by an absolute majority vote of members present.

#### ARTICLE 39

An electoral law shall duly establish the conditions, method and date of general elections. The first general elections shall take place within a year of the holding of FRELIMO's 3rd Congress.

#### ARTICLE 40

The functions of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Mozambique are as follows:

- (a) To legislate on basic matters related to internal and external policy;
- (b) To approve the report on the implementation of the past year's budget, the general State budget and national economic plans;
- (c) To determine the basis of the taxation policy;
- (d) To ratify or denounce international agreements and treaties;

- (e) To approve the report on Government activities;
- (f) To ratify legislative acts of the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly;
- (g) To grant amnesties;
- (h) To sanction the suspension of constitutional guarantees when a state of siege or emergency is declared;
- (i) To authorise the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique to travel abroad.

#### ARTICLE 41

Legislation may be initiated by the following:

- (1) FRELIMO's Central Committee;
- (2) FRELIMO's Executive Committee;
- (3) The President of the Republic;
- (4) The Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly;
- (5) Organs of the People's Assembly;
- (6) The Council of Ministers.



#### ARTICLE 42

The People's Assembly is convened and presided over by the President of the Republic. The People's Assembly meets in ordinary sessions twice a year, and in extraordinary sessions when so required by FRELIMO's Central Committee, the President of the Republic, the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly, or by at least one-third of the members of the People's Assembly.

#### ARTICLE 43

No member of the People's Assembly may be arrested, except when caught in the act, or tried, without the consent of that organ or of its Permanent Commission.

### CHAPTER II

#### ARTICLE 44

The Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly consists of fifteen members elected by the People's Assembly from among its members, on the proposal of FRELIMO's Central Committee.

#### ARTICLE 45

It is the duty of the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly to assume the functions of the People's Assembly in the periods between meetings of that body, submitting its legislative acts for ratification at the following meeting of the People's Assembly. The Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly is answerable to the People's Assembly.

#### ARTICLE 46

The Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly is presided over by the President of the Republic.

### CHAPTER III

#### President of the Republic

#### ARTICLE 47

The President of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the President of FRELIMO.

The President of the People's Republic of Mozambique is the Head of State.

He is the symbol of national unity and represents the Nation at home and internationally.

#### ARTICLE 48

It is the duty of the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique:

- (a) To see to it that the Constitution is respected and to ensure that the state organs function properly;
- (b) To create ministries and define their jurisdiction;
- (c) To direct the activities of the Council of Ministers and preside over its meetings;
- (d) To appoint and dismiss members of the Council of Ministers;
- (e) To appoint and dismiss the President and Vice-President of the Supreme People's Court and Attorney-General of the Republic;
- (f) To appoint and dismiss provincial governors;
- (g) To appoint and dismiss the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank of Mozambique;
- (h) To appoint and dismiss the general commander and deputy general com-

mander of the Police Corps of Mozambique;

- (i) To appoint and dismiss the rector of the University;
- (j) To promulgate and have issued laws and legislative decrees;
- (k) To declare a state of war and conclude peace treaties on the decision of FRELIMO's Central Committee;
- (l) To proclaim general or partial mobilisation;
- (m) To accredit diplomatic representatives of other countries;
- (n) To appoint and dismiss diplomatic representatives of the People's Republic of Mozambique in other countries;
- (o) To pardon and commute sentences;
- (p) To declare a state of siege or emergency.

#### ARTICLE 49

The President of the Republic may annul decisions of provincial assemblies.

#### ARTICLE 50

When he is sworn in the President of the Republic swears the following oath:

I swear on my honour as a FRELIMO militant to devote all my energy to defending, promoting and consolidating the gains of the Revolution, to the welfare of the Mozambican people, to see to it that the Constitution is respected and ensure justice for all citizens.

#### ARTICLE 51

The President of the Republic decides who shall represent him in the event of his absence or incapacity, or in the performance of certain specific tasks.

#### ARTICLE 52

In the event of death, resignation or permanent incapacity of the President of the Republic, his functions shall be immediately assumed by FRELIMO's Central Committee, which shall name a new President of the Republic in the shortest possible space of time.

### CHAPTER IV

#### Council of Ministers

#### ARTICLE 53

The Council of Ministers comprises the Ministers and Vice-



-Ministers of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The Council of Ministers is presided over by the President of the Republic.

#### ARTICLE 54

The Council of Ministers is answerable to the People's Assembly for the implementation of internal and external policy of the State.

In its work the Council of Ministers must comply with resolutions of FRELIMO's Congress, Central Committee and Executive Committee, laws of the People's Assembly and its Permanent Commission, and decisions of the President of the Republic.

It is the specific purview of the Council of Ministers:

- (a) To draw up the general State plan and general State budget and implement them, after approval by FRELIMO's Central Committee and the People's Assembly;
- (b) To draw up draft laws and decisions to be submitted to the People's Assembly, the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly or the President of the Republic;
- (c) To enact legislative decrees through delegated power and within the scope attributed by the People's Assembly, and to enact decrees;
- (d) To direct and coordinate the activity of the Ministries and other state organs which come under the Council of Ministers;
- (e) To guarantee the rights and freedoms of citizens.

### CHAPTER V

#### Administrative organisation and local state organs

#### ARTICLE 55

The People's Republic of Mozambique is administratively organised in provinces, districts and localities.

#### ARTICLE 56

The guiding principles of regional administration are unity, centralism and local initiative.

#### ARTICLE 57

The highest State organ in a province is the Provincial Government, presided over by the governor. The governor is the representative of the President of the Republic and is answerable to FRELIMO and the Government for his activities.

#### ARTICLE 58

There shall be a Provincial Assembly in each province. The Provincial Assembly shall legislate on matters of exclusively provincial interest and shall take part in decisions related to the province.

#### ARTICLE 59

The Provincial Government is made up of the governor of the province and the provincial heads of the various sectors of the Administration, or persons appointed to represent the said sectors.

#### ARTICLE 60

The President of the Republic may annul decisions of the governors, Provincial Governments and Provincial Assemblies.

#### ARTICLE 61

The competence, organisation, composition and structure of administrative bodies or other organs of local administration shall be determined by law.

### CHAPTER VI

#### Judiciary

#### ARTICLE 62

In the People's Republic of Mozambique the judicial function shall be performed by the courts, through the Supreme People's Court and other courts provided for in the law on the judiciary. Their composition and competence shall be determined by law.

#### ARTICLE 63

The Supreme People's Court shall promote the uniform application of the law by all courts to serve the interests of the people of Mozambique, and shall ensure the fulfilment of the Constitution, laws and legal norms of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

#### ARTICLE 64

The President of the Supreme People's Court is appointed by the President of the Republic.

#### ARTICLE 65

Judges are independent in discharging their duties.

#### ARTICLE 66

There shall be magistrates from the Public Prosecutor's office, whose duty it shall be to represent the State. The Attorney-General of the Republic shall be answerable to the People's Assembly.

### SECTION IV

#### Symbols of the People's Republic of Mozambique

#### ARTICLE 67

The symbols of the People's Republic of Mozambique are the flag, the emblem and the national anthem.



#### ARTICLE 68

The National Flag has five colours, four of them separated by white bands, and placed diagonally, starting from the upper left-hand corner. The colours, in order from top to bottom, represent:

Green — the wealth of Mozambique's soil;

Red — the centuries-old resistance to colonialism, the armed struggle for national liberation and the Revolution;

Black — the African Continent;

Yellow — the wealth of the sub-soil.

The white expresses the justness of the Mozambican people's struggle and the peace that struggle is aimed at establishing.

In the upper left-hand corner there is an emblem consisting of a cog wheel (symbol of the working class and industrial production) which encircles a book (symbol of education), on which are superimposed a crossed gun and hoe, symbolising defence and vigilance, the peasant class and agricultural production.

On the right, inside the cog wheel, there is a red star, symbolising the Mozambican people's internationalist spirit.

#### ARTICLE 69

The emblem of the People's Republic of Mozambique has as its central features a book, a gun and a hoe over a map of Mozambique and representing respectively: education, defence and vigilance, and the peasant class and agricultural production.

The ocean is represented below the map.

In the centre there is a rising sun, the symbol of revolution and of the new life being built.

Bordering these is a cog wheel, symbolising the working class and industry, the factor giving impetus to our economy.

Around the cog wheel there is, on the right, a maize plant and cob, and on the left a sugar cane, which symbolise agricultural wealth.

At the top, in the centre, a red star symbolises the internationalist spirit of the Mozambican Revolution.

In the lower part, there is a red band bearing the inscription «People's Republic of Mozambique».

### SECTION V

#### Final and transitional provisions

#### ARTICLE 70

Pending the creation of the Assembly with constituent powers, any alteration to the Constitution is the task of FRELIMO's Central Committee.

#### ARTICLE 71

Former legislation which is contrary to the Constitution is automatically revoked. Former legislation which is not contrary to the Constitution shall be maintained in force until such time as it is altered or revoked.

#### ARTICLE 72

Until the People's Assembly starts to function, its legislative powers shall be exercised by the Council of Ministers.

#### ARTICLE 73

The Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique comes into force at 00 hours on 25 June 1975.

Approved by acclamation by the Central Committee of the Mozambique Liberation Front on 20 June 1975.



# THE GOVERNMENT

The Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Mozambique, the first Government of our sovereign State, took office on July 1 at a ceremony in Lourenço Marques. At the investiture, the 18 Council members swore that, for the defence and triumph of the Revolution, they would dedicate all their energies to the service of the Mozambican People, in exercising the functions entrusted to them by the President of the Republic. In a speech at the ceremony the President noted that the Government was composed of people of different races and from different regions but that none of them was the representative of a race or a colour or a region. He said: «Our Government collectively, and its members individually, represent exclusively the power of the worker-peasant class alliance, the interests of the Mozambican People united from the Rovuma to the Maputo. Above all, the Government represents the political line of FRELIMO at the level of the State.»



Minister for Development and Economic Planning: Marcelino dos Santos, Vice-President of FRELIMO.



Minister for Foreign Affairs: Joaquim Alberto Chissano, member of Central and Executive Committees of FRELIMO.



Minister for National Defence: Alberto Joaquim Chipande, member of Central and Executive Committees of FRELIMO.



Minister for Home Affairs: Armando Emilio Guebuza, member of Central and Executive Committees of FRELIMO, National Political Commissar.



Minister for Information: Jorge Rebelo, member of Central and Executive Committees of FRELIMO.



Minister for Labour: Mariano Matsinha, member of Central Committee of FRELIMO.



Vice-Minister for National Defence: Sebastião Marcos Mabote, member of Central Committee of FRELIMO.



Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs: Armando Panguene, member of Central Committee of FRELIMO.



Minister of State in the President's Office: José Oscar Monteiro, member of Executive Committee of FRELIMO.



Minister for Agriculture: Joaquim Ribeiro de Carvalho, member of Executive Committee of FRELIMO.



Vice-Minister for Home Affairs: Daniel Saul Mbanze, member of Executive Committee of FRELIMO.



Minister for Education and Culture: Graça Simbine.



Minister for Health: Hélder Martins.



Minister for Industry and Commerce: Mário da Graça Machungo.



Minister for Transport and Communications: José Luís Cabaco.



Minister for Justice: Rui Baltazar dos Santos Alves.



Minister for Public Works and Housing: Júlio Zamith Carrilho.



Minister for Finance: Salomão Munguambe.



“What seemed unaccomplishable for those dominated by reactionary and imperialist prejudices has become a fact: the victory of peasants and workers over a bourgeois army, technically fit, experienced in wars of aggression and powerfully armed. Our struggle showed once again that, when united by a correct political line, when motivated by their fundamental interests, the People are able to crush any aggressor, however powerful he might be.”

Comrade Samora Machel addressing the 24<sup>th</sup> session of the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam in January this year.



The last Portuguese soldiers leaving Mozambique in June, 1975



FRELIMO FLAG



NATIONAL FLAG